



Quarterly Report
INDONESIA: ESTABLISHING DEMOCRATIC CIVILIAN
CONTROL OF THE MILITARY IN INDONESIA
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I. SUMMARY

In the third quarter of 2001, the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs' (NDI) program on governance and security in Indonesia focused on media strengthening. NDI conducted a training program on investigative journalism, in cooperation with the Indonesian Institute Investigative for Journalism (IIJ), to enhance the knowledge and skills of Indonesian journalists in investigative journalism with a particular concentration on civil-military relations in a democratic society. NDI also made extensive preparations to conduct an international conference and workshop on reforming military revenue systems. This event aimed to focus on the impact of the newly passed Foundation Law on military foundations, and was to be held in partnership with the Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW) and Yappika, the head of the 31-member NGO Foundation Bill Coalition. However, due to the political ramifications generated by the terrorist attacks on cities in the United States on September 11, specifically the restrictions on travel of international personnel into Indonesia as well as the security situation in Jakarta, the international conference has been postponed for the first quarter of 2002.

II. BACKGROUND

Early in his presidential term, Abdurrahman Wahid made several strides towards reform of the military. During this period, the police force was separated from the larger armed forces, and the president removed some of the worst human rights offenders from the government. Most notably, in February 2000, Wahid removed General Wiranto from his position as Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security after an Indonesian human rights commission implicated him in the violence in East Timor. However, by early 2001, complications of financial scandal and possible impeachment caught Wahid under siege, and public contempt for the Indonesian Armed Forces (TNI) resumed a familiar pitch as the TNI gained a more unrestrained hand in the secessionist provinces of Aceh and West Papua.

The TNI's position in the impeachment process of Wahid has greatly contributed to a rebound in TNI's political influence. The military-police faction in the DPR and MPR played an important role throughout the proceedings that resulted in President Wahid's removal. In February 2001, the military faction voted with the majority in the DPR to accept the Special

Committee report on President's Wahid's alleged involvement in financial misconduct and joined the consensus to send the first memorandum to the president. While the military abstained on the votes in April and May to send the second memorandum and to request that the MPR hold a Special Session, its votes were hardly crucial. In July, after the standoff between the legislature and the president over Wahid's attempts to replace the national police chief, the military-police faction again voted with the overwhelming majority to advance the Special Session and remove the president. The military's apparent opposition to the president throughout the process seemingly continued a trend of the military's renewed assertiveness in politics. Many political observers regard TNI's support for parliament against Wahid during the constitutional crisis as a debt that the new president, Megawati Sukarnoputri, will not be allowed to forget.

Indonesian media today plays a strategic role in shaping civil-military relations. Since Soeharto's resignation, the press has experienced a period of openness and freedom like no other in recent Indonesian history. Topics that under the New Order were strictly taboo, including the military's role in society, are now freely discussed in all forms of the media. This new freedom allows the media to play a vital role in establishing productive civil-military engagement. In its profession of gathering and disseminating information, the Indonesian media can contribute to an informed dialogue on the military's place in a democracy and help build trust between civilian and military actors. Unfortunately, as a result of years of repressive governance and self-censorship, much of the Indonesian press has little training or background in civil-military or defense issues and remains ill equipped to report effectively on such issues.

Investigative journalism in the field of military coverage has provided valuable information and insight to civilian governments and civil society in many democratic countries on the conduct and performance of their militaries. Human rights abuses by Canadian peacekeepers in Somalia, the deadly effects of agent orange by the U.S. military in Vietnam, and the current U.S.-European debate over the health effects of the use of depleted uranium during the Persian Gulf War are some examples of the crop of investigative journalism that has influenced defense policy and strengthened oversight of security establishments.

Indonesian policy-makers and policy advocates are frequently at a disadvantage due to a general lack of comparable information. There are countless alleged "open secrets" about TNI that are difficult to confirm or quantify. The suspected corruption in the Strategic Forces (Kostrad) owned foundation and the alleged trafficking of narcotics from Aceh-based commands are publicly acknowledged, but little more than speculation is available in the public record. Investigations conducted by way of precise journalistic standards and staunch practices can provide important information to parliamentarians and mobilize public opinion.

One of the needs identified by both NDI and Indonesians themselves for a democratizing Indonesia is to have a larger pool of civilians with expertise in defense and security affairs. Currently, there are only a small number of such people, and most of them have had to study overseas to obtain the appropriate educational qualifications. At this time, there is no graduate program in Indonesia that can produce civilian graduates with this knowledge base and skills. Nonetheless, a democratizing Indonesia needs training for people working in such areas as: (1) the Ministry of Defense, whose important decision-making officials are currently all active or

retired military officers; (2) the national legislature (DPR), as professional staff, especially those who might eventually be attached to Commission I (the equivalent of the Defense or Armed Services Committee); (3) provincial governments, as security advisers to governors who, with the implementation of regional autonomy policy and the state of emergency law, will have greater responsibility for local security; (4) universities, as lecturers and researchers; (5) think tanks, as researchers; (6) mass media, as defense journalists; (7) NGOs relevant to the defense and security sector; and (8) other pertinent institutions.

III. PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

A. *The Third Journalist Professional Development Program*

NDI conducted the third Journalist Professional Development training program from July 7 to 17. Held in cooperation with the Indonesian Institute Investigative for Journalism (IIJ), the training had the following objectives:

- (1) enhance Indonesian journalists knowledge and skills regarding investigative journalism with a focus on civil-military relations in a democratic society;
- (2) improve the quality and scope of military coverage by Indonesian media; and
- (3) strengthen IIJ institutional capacity to conduct further trainings in investigative journalism.

Twenty-two Indonesian journalists and editors, who each had a minimum of five years of work experience, participated in the event. Two additional participants from Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW) were also included. A total of nine participants originated from Jakarta (including the ICW participants) while the other participants were drawn from the regions including: Central Java (Solo), North Sumatra (Medan), West Sumatra (Padang), South Sumatra (Palembang), Bandar Lampung in Sumatra, South Kalimantan (Banjarmasin), Bali (Depassar), West Nusa Tenggara (Mataram), East Nusa Tenggara (Kupang), South Sulawesi (Makassar), Northern Sulawesi (Kendari), North Sulawesi (Manado), and Papua (Jayapura).

The training began with a three-day, in-session phase (Phase I) during which domestic and international speakers shared their skills and experiences with participants in a moderated panel format. The first day had presentations from senior journalists Saur Hutabarat from *Media Indonesia* and Susanto Pudjomartono from *The Jakarta Post* who both underlined how democracy is based on the principle of accountability, and how investigative reporting is a powerful catalyst of social change. Keith Loveard, formerly of *Asiaweek*; Ivan Harris of *Tempo Magazine*; and Hamid Basyaib of *Yayasan Aksara* discussed investigative techniques at length. This session was followed by presentations by Mr. Suripto and Dr. A.C. Manullang, both formerly intelligence agents, who described methods of disinformation. In the evening, the participants watched the classic journalist film *All The President's Men*, the story of the *Washington Post* investigation of the National Democratic Party offices break-in that eventually led to the resignation of President Richard Nixon, followed by a discussion on the film.

The second day featured excellent presentations from Yuli Ismartono of *Tempo English Version* and Lin Neumann of *SEAPA Bangkok* on international cases of investigative journalism.

Next was a presentation on research techniques by Dr. Daniel Dhakidae of *Kompas* and Satrio Arismunandar of *Media Indonesia*. An internet research practicum was conducted in the computer lab. Dr. S. Sinansari eip from IIIJ conducted a discussion on factual analysis. The final session of the second day dealt with social conflict in Indonesia. Leaders of this session were Dr. Rizal Panggabean from the Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution at Gagah Mada University and by human rights advocate Mr. Munir from the Indonesian Human Rights Foundation.

The third day included a session on the prospects for civil-military relations with Lt. General Agus Widjojo, Chief of the Territorial System, and Dr. Kusnanto Anggoro from the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). A session on military income accountability involved Dr. Indria Samego from CIDES and Agam Fatchurrochman of Indonesian Corruption Watch. Blair King, former NDI Program Officer and PhD candidate at Ohio State University, moderated the morning sessions. The afternoon program included a session on Ethics and Law in Investigative Journalism with Lukas Luwarso of the Press Board and Wina Armada Sukardi of PWI. By late afternoon the participants had selected topics of investigation for the practicum portion of the training--the "simulated" investigation. The final session of the third day was a presentation of the human rights film, *Village Goat That Takes a Beating*, directed by Aryo Danusiri and produced by ELSAM. The director of ELSAM, Ifdal Kasim, led a discussion following the film. The discussion was engaging and critical with almost every participant voicing an opinion.

Phase II of the program was a three-day, in-field practicum during which the participants were divided into teams of four or five and sent to locations outside of Jakarta in order to directly apply their newly learned skills by conducting a "simulated" investigation. The theme of the "simulation" was the impact of non-state, military income activities (military business) on issues of public interest. The participants brought back the following investigative reports: "Conflict of Interest in Mining 'Black Gold'" in Cimangkok, Cimanggu, and Titisan, Sukabumi, West Java (by Team I); "Thirsty for Gold" and "Toll by Police Officers in Pongkor" (Team II); "Military Business in Cikupa, Tangerang, Banten" (Team III); "Unveiling the Mystery of the Death of *Tempo* Journalist Rudi Singgih" (Team IV); and "Tradition of Imposing Tolls between Merak and Bakauheni" (Team V). It is important to note that the limited time and resources allotted for this part of the training did not hinder the participants from intensively tracking down individual leads and probing substantial elements of their reports. Participants took the simulation very seriously: the Pongkor group even hiked six hours to inspect the gold mine featured in their report.

Phase III consisted of one day of investigative report writing and one day of sharing and review. The last day was the high point of the training with the presentation of each investigation followed by a question-and-answer period.

An e-mail discussion group has been set up and is moderated by IIIJ to facilitate further cooperation among participants. This discussion group has been active since the completion of the training. IIIJ is considering follow-up activities, such as conducting investigations based on the model of the Philippine Center for Investigative Journalism (PCIJ).

B. *Preparations for an International Conference and Workshop on Reforming Military Revenue Systems*

As a part of the follow-up to last quarter's seminar on military foundations, NDI has made extensive preparations since the end of July for an international conference and workshop on reforming military revenue systems. The conference was set to focus specifically on the impact of the newly passed Foundation Law on military foundations. NDI was to conduct the event in partnership with the Indonesian Corruption Watch (ICW) and Yappika, the leader of the 31-member NGO Coalition on the Foundation Bill. However, due to the political ramifications generated by the terrorist attacks on cities in the United States on September 11, specifically the restrictions on travel of international personnel into Indonesia as well as the security situation in Jakarta, the October conference has been postponed and is tentatively rescheduled for January 2002.

IV. RESULTS/ACCOMPLISHMENTS

1. Support for the Indonesian Institute for Investigative Journalism

- Through the organization of a training of such magnitude and depth, and its provision of technical assistance and support, NDI has helped IIIJ strengthen its institutional capability and organizational viability.

2. Investigative Journalism Training

- Twenty-two journalists and editors have been trained in investigative journalism skills with a focus on civil-military relations in a democratic society. Enthusiasm among the participants remained high after the training, and the participants have kept in contact with one another. An investigative journalism network has been established through an e-mail discussion group. This discussion group has been active since the completion of the training, and has served as a venue for the alumni of the investigative journalism training to share news and professional experiences with one another.
- Investigative journalism training alumni have been identified as possible trainers and may be invited to join the IIIJ staff. Other alumni have been identified as potential contributors to the planned IIIJ magazine, *Investigator*. Through the training, IIIJ has obtained access to a qualified human resource pool and a support network.

V. EVALUATION/CONCLUSIONS

Objective: *To increase Indonesian legislators' and their staff members' ability to understand defense and civil-military issues.*

- None of the activities conducted in this quarter were directly related to this program objective.

Objective: *To increase the Indonesian media's capacity to understand and accurately report on defense and civil-military issues.*

- Through the provision of investigative journalism training, NDI has enhanced the capacity of Indonesian journalists and editors to conduct better investigative journalism. The skills acquired and the lessons learned from the training have empowered Indonesian media professionals to report more effectively and responsibly on defense issues and military affairs.

Objective: *To increase Indonesian academic institutions' capacity to conduct research and education on defense and civil-military issues.*

- None of the activities conducted in this quarter were directly related to this program objective.

Objective: *To increase long-term dialogue and understanding between the military and members of civil society.*

- The lessons learned from the training have empowered Indonesian media professionals to report more effectively and responsibly on defense issues and military affairs. The development of this expertise in Indonesian media directly contributes to a more informed dialogue between military and civilian actors, and shapes greater transparency in civil-military relations.

VI. FUTURE ACTIVITIES

1. Legislative Activities

- NDI will work with ICW and Yappika to conduct the international conference on military revenue rescheduled for January 2002.

2. Journalist Professional Development Program

- NDI will publish a book on selected writings on civil-military relations issues from alumni of the first two civil-military journalist trainings (April-May 2000 and October-November 2000).